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ABSTRACT

The new philosophy of police work has been called "community policing," a term that includes problem-solving techniques, strategic use of resources, and increasingly sophisticated investigative capabilities. The success of new policing strategies depends on the ability to recruit, develop, and field a group of officers who understand their roles in peacekeeping, community service, and crime fighting. More fundamental than the necessary change in skills is the change in the basic position of the police officer. The military system has been called into question as a proper model for the new vision of police professionalism. One way to improve the quality and professionalism is to change the titles and rank structure. The management structure needs to be changed, since community policing envisions the empowerment of officers. Police departments must select innovative, self-disciplined, and self-motivated individuals. A college education appears to be necessary or at least desirable. Training in the concepts of community policing must be reflected throughout recruiting and the training program. Changing the supervisory style to reflect the values and techniques of community policing is of critical importance. Other important parts of the community policing officer's success and personal satisfaction are field support, relationships within the police department, and effective systems for monitoring, evaluating, and, when necessary, disciplining police conduct. (45 endnotes.) (YLB)

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# Community Policing and the Police Officer

**By Edwin Meese III**

Alvin Toffler, the author of *Future Shock*, and Heidi Toffler have stated that " . . . almost all the major systems on which our society depends . . . are in simultaneous crisis" and the "failure to prepare in advance for the turbulent [nineties] could produce a grave breakdown in public security."[1] For almost a decade, many farsighted law enforcement executives and public safety scholars have been responding to this challenge in what has been described as "a quiet revolution" that is reshaping American policing.[2]

Under a variety of names—strategic policing, problem-solving policing, neighborhood-oriented policing, community policing, and others—police agencies are developing new concepts to better satisfy the demands and needs of the citizens they serve. In the course of the self-examination and creative thinking that are taking place, fundamental questions have been raised about the basic purpose and responsibilities of the police, the capabilities they possess, the types of contributions they can make to society, the optimum methods of their organization and deployment, and the relationship that they have with the communities that employ them. In contrast to a philosophy of "business as usual," police executives sense the need to "redeploy the money and authority entrusted to them in hopes that their organizations will produce greater value for society."[3]

Much has been written about the potential effects of these innovative changes in policing on community involvement, city government, and the police department itself.[4] This paper examines the impact of creative forms of policing on the ultimate key to their success—the individual police officer.

As the emphasis and methods of policing change, the position of the police officer in the organization changes also. Instead of reacting to specified situations, limited by rigid guidelines and regulations, the officer becomes a thinking professional, utilizing imagination and creativity to identify and solve problems. Instead of being locked in an organizational straitjacket, the police officer is encouraged to develop cooperative relationships in the community, guided by values and purposes, rather

Community policing represents a new future for American law enforcement, changing the way our Nation's police respond to the communities they serve. This report, one in a series entitled *Perspectives on Policing*, is based on discussions held in the Executive Session on Policing sponsored by NIJ at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

The Executive Session on Policing has been developed as part of the Kennedy School's Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management and is funded by the National Institute of Justice and private sources that include the Charles Stewart Mott and Guggenheim Foundations. The success of the police mission now and in the years ahead is the common goal of those who have participated in the Executive Session. Helping to achieve that goal is the purpose of these reports.

The Executive Session on Policing has brought together police chiefs, mayors, scholars, and many others in periodic meetings to focus on modern strategies that produce better results. The rapid growth of these strategies shows the willingness of American police executives to test new approaches to crime, disorder, drugs, and fear in their communities.

We hope that these publications will challenge police executives and local officials to reexamine their approach to law enforcement, just as those who participated in the Executive Session have done.

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than constrained by rules and excessive supervision. To make this possible, much thought must be given to designing the structure of police organizations and to recruiting, selecting, training, and supporting officers in the field. Changes must be made in all of these areas to create a new police professionalism.

## New strategies require new roles

This new philosophy of police work has been called "community policing," a term intended here to include problem-solving techniques, strategic utilization of resources, and increasingly sophisticated investigative capabilities. But these attributes must be understood in the context of a different view of the status and role of community institutions in guiding and assisting police operations. As Moore and Trojanowicz note, "In community policing, community institutions such as families, schools, neighborhood associations, and merchant groups are seen as key partners to the police in the creation of safe, secure communities. The success of the police depends not only on the development of their own skills and capabilities, but also on the creation of competent communities. Community policing acknowledges that police cannot succeed in achieving their basic goals without both the operational assistance and political support of the community. Conversely, the community cannot succeed in constructing decent, open, and orderly communities without a professional and responsive police force."[5]

The police, then, must be more than a reactive force that responds to crimes already committed. They must develop into a proactive entity that deals with a broad variety of conditions that tend to disrupt the community peace or adversely affect the quality of life.

This description of the police task and the citizen relationships that are required to fulfill it is different from the popular concept of a crimefighter in blue, whose position is reminiscent of the pistol-toting marshal of the Old West. Indeed, the success of new policing strategies depends on the ability of a police agency to recruit, develop, and field a group of officers who not only understand their role as highly visible representatives of governmental authority, but also recognize that their responsibility for community service and peacekeeping is of equal importance to law enforcement and crime suppression. These requirements give new meaning to the notion of a professional police officer in the modern era.

The conflicts that some perceive in the various roles of peacekeeping, community service, and crime fighting are not a new problem. A report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, published in 1970, states, "Perhaps the most important source of police frustration . . . is the conflicting roles and demands involved in the order-maintenance, community service and crime-fighting responsibilities of the police."[6] Too often officers feel that their efforts are not appreciated or deemed important by either their supervisors or the public.[7] One police executive has even suggested that the police function should be divided into two separate agencies under one department: one agency for law enforcement, the other for community service.[8]

A more sophisticated view of the police function, which is inherent in the concept of community policing, is that community service, peacekeeping, and crime fighting are complementary, not conflicting, activities. Historically, the "patrolman on the beat," maintaining order and communicating with the citizenry, was carrying out a major police priority.[9] In addition, the information obtained through expanded direct contact with citizens, generally on a routine and informal basis, helps to solve crimes and apprehend offenders.[10]

As one police department notes, neighborhood disorder and crime are viewed more and more as slightly different aspects of the same problem. When police officers deal with the symbols of urban decay—abandoned buildings, accumulated rubbish, panhandlers roaming the streets—they mitigate the conditions under which crime and disorder flourish. The result is lessened fear of crime and greater satisfaction with the police among members of the community.[11] The attention of the police to such matters, combined with increased communication between officers and the public, can stimulate community pride and provide the basis for police-citizen cooperation in building safer neighborhoods and an improved quality of life.

## A new professionalism

The changed strategy of policing alters in important ways the content of the police officer's job. Police responsibilities expand beyond attempting to control criminal activity—to preventing crime, promoting order, resolving disputes, and providing emergency assistance in social crises. The officer's methods and resources extend beyond arrests and citations. They now include mediation and negotiation, referrals to other municipal agencies, and community mobilization. As police activity focuses on the neighborhood, the demands on the basic police officer increase, as do the scope of responsibility and the skills required.

More fundamental than the change in skills, however, is the change in the basic position of the police officer. Instead of primarily reacting to incidents, the officer analyzes, plans, and takes the initiative. Instead of constantly looking up the bureaucratic chain of command for guidance and assistance, the community police officer looks out toward the problems to be solved, and toward the community's interests in helping to solve them. In community policing, the de facto discretion that always existed (and that often was used well by police officers) is recognized and developed, rather than limited or discouraged.

In both the complexity of the skills and the initiative required of the officers lies a new vision of police professionalism. James Q. Wilson has stated that the characteristics of a professional include the exercise of "wide discretion alone and with respect to matters of the greatest importance" and that this is based on a status "conferred by an organized profession" that "certifies that the member has acquired by education certain information and by apprenticeship certain arts and skills that render him competent" to "handle emergency situations, to be privy to 'guilty information,' and to make decisions involving questions of life and death or honor and dishonor." He goes on to say that a professional "is willing to subject himself to the code of ethics and sense of duty of his colleagues."[12]

Professionalism has been the goal of modern policing for several decades and is indeed a worthy objective. Police have pursued it by trying to develop their technical skills through discipline, training, and apprenticeship,[13] and by the use of increasingly sophisticated methods and equipment. While that is an important part of professionalism, it is only a part.

Another aspect of professionalism, which requires extensive development if community policing is to be successful, focuses on the values that the profession must adopt, the position of the officer in the organization and the community, and the manner in which the police are held accountable for their professional performance. It is a matter of both self-image and community perception. The commitment to constitutional and legal values, to mutual respect, and to service to the community, combined with self-reliance and self-motivation, are the hallmarks of the new police professional.

## The military model and professionalism

Ironically, one of the principal factors preventing the development of a strong sense of professionalism among police officers—not only in their own eyes, but in the eyes of the public—may be the military form of organization that the police have adopted from their earliest days.[14] The military system, with its rigid organizational structure and authoritarian management style, increasingly has been called into question as a proper model for modern policing.[15]

In some respects, the military form has served the police well, at least for traditional policing. It has created a structure of discipline within which ordinary people, hired for an exacting job, can be trained, equipped, and motivated to function effectively. It has provided a means of controlling the behavior of "working-level" employees. It has been useful for coordinating large numbers of officers in operations such as crowd control, riot suppression, and investigative searches. And it has enhanced the stature of police as a whole by presenting an attractive image of discipline, skill, and service.

Yet, it has not often been acknowledged that the military model, as it traditionally has been applied by police organizations, inadvertently downgrades the position of the primary figure in police service: the individual officer. Too often the basic police officer is viewed as comparable to a private in the army, the lowest ranking military person, who has virtually no individual authority. Such a perception is understandable when several police officers report to a sergeant who, in turn, reports to a lieutenant, and so on up the chain of command. Sometimes police officers are described as constituting a "squad," again a reference to those holding the lowest military rank. In some departments the rank of corporal further reinforces the enlisted person versus commissioned officer stereotype. It is little wonder, then, that those holding the rank of police officer often are regarded as something less than professionals and that they are denied individual authority, the presumption of expertise, and the discretion that normally would accompany professional status.

Nevertheless, there are ways in which certain constructive aspects of the military style could be retained, while still affording the basic police officer the professional standing that modern policing strategies require. Rather than being considered as the equivalent of an army private, the police officer should be given the distinction of an aviator in the military services. Aircraft pilots initially are appointed as lieutenants in the Air Force or ensigns in the Navy,[16] not because of the number of personnel reporting to them (which is usually small or nonexistent), but because of the great responsibility entrusted to them when they are given charge of an expensive and potentially dangerous aircraft. Just as military pilots must exercise considerable judgment on their own and accept that their individual actions may have grave consequences, so police officers on the street should be considered the equivalent of commissioned officers, with concomitant respect, authority, and discretion.

This change in the perception of a police officer—on his or her own part and on the part of police superiors and the public—may be a difficult task in most places, but it is crucial to properly defining the individual officer's role in community policing. Several Federal law enforcement agencies already have moved away from the military model in their organization and rank structure. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Secret Service classify their basic officers as special agents, a term used for all nonsupervisory positions from entry level through veteran members. All required to be college graduates, special agents are regarded as, and expected to perform as, professionals.

## Reducing hierarchy and enriching skills

Organizations of professionals are distinguished by extensive and continuing professional training, by shared understanding of and commitment to the values of the profession, by extensive lateral communication, and—perhaps most important—by the absence of elaborate and complex hierarchies. Organizational structures are relatively flat, but often deep and differentiated in types and levels of skills. How to create such arrangements for policing has been the subject of attention for many years. In 1967, for example, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice recommended changes in personnel practices that would improve the quality and professionalism of the police service.

One such proposal, designed to "attract better personnel, to utilize them more effectively in controlling crime, and to gain greater understanding of community problems," suggested that police candidates enter departments at three levels of qualification, competence, responsibility, and pay: community service officer, police officer, and police agent. The community service officer would be essentially an apprentice working on the street under close supervision, unarmed and without full law enforcement authority. The police officer would carry out regular police functions, such as response to calls for service, routine patrol, traffic enforcement, and accident investigation. The police agent would handle the basic police tasks that are the most complicated, sensitive, and demanding. Under this scheme, an individual could enter the police department at any one of the three levels, depending upon prior education and experience, and could advance through the various levels and attain the position of police agent without having to compete for

the limited number of supervisory positions available in a traditional hierarchy.[17] Thus, an officer who was good at street policing or investigation could continue performing those types of duties throughout his or her career without having to become an administrator.

Although various aspects of the Commission's recommendations were tried by a number of departments throughout the Nation, the proposal never caught on, and very few police agencies utilize either the concept or the nomenclature today. One defect of the proposal, particularly in the context of the community policing philosophy, is the creation of a structure that relegates community service to the lowest level of the pyramid.

One way to eliminate the view of the police officer as a nonprofessional army private is to revise the police rank system, utilizing nonmilitary titles for some or all personnel grades. Such a revolutionary change may be difficult to achieve, since law enforcement agencies typically are resistant to major change and may be more comfortable with the rank nomenclature that traditionally has been used.[18] Nevertheless, such a change in titles could be used skillfully by enterprising departments as part of their implementation of new policing strategies.

A more limited change in the grade structure would be to substitute another title for the rank of sergeant, to eliminate the noncommissioned officer connotation. Terms such as supervising police officer, master police officer, or inspector (a title historically used in many parts of the country to depict a rank just below lieutenant)[19] could be used for the first level of supervision. This would retain the existing management position while encouraging the view of the basic police officer as a professional.

One major problem of current rank systems is that promotional opportunities and the accompanying financial reward and rise in professional stature are relatively few. They could become even fewer if police organizational structures are simplified as suggested below. It is desirable, therefore, to expand the array of nonsupervisory positions to make a graduated series of opportunities available to most career police officers. The Los Angeles Police Department has done this by creating four grades of police officer and three grades of detective. An officer in that department can earn more than $50,000 per year without having to attain an administrative position.[20] A system that provides sufficient incentives for the successful police officer throughout a career of basic police work properly recognizes the professional status of the person who is on the street and in the neighborhood, working directly with the public.

## Organizing for empowerment

Changing titles and rank structure, however, is not enough to elevate the professional standing of the basic police officer. Police organizational structures should be revised to decrease the number of levels of authority, particularly at the bottom of the hierarchy. Community policing envisions the empowerment of officers to take independent action to solve problems, work with community leaders, and improve the social environment of the neighborhoods they serve. Such a vision, however, is a far cry from the experience of most officers today. The average police officer spends an 8- or 10-hour tour of duty sitting in a police car, responding to calls when directed by a dispatcher, and complying with the rigid structure of detailed rules and regulations that will keep the officer from being criticized or penalized by superiors.

As Herman Goldstein notes, "The dominant form of policing today continues to view police officers as automatons. Despite an awareness that they exercise broad discretion, they are held to strict account in their daily work—for what they do and how they do it . . . Especially in procedural matters, they are required to adhere to detailed regulations. In large police agencies, rank-and-file police officers are often treated impersonally and kept in the dark regarding policy matters. Officers quickly learn, under these conditions, that the rewards go to those who conform to expectations—that nonthinking compliance is valued."[21]

These rigid prescriptions for police conduct and limitations on creativity are caused by the desire of both supervisors and command officers to avoid wrongdoing by police officers and to ensure that the activities of subordinates will not result in criticism of or embarrassment to their superiors. Obviously, the successful implementation of community policing requires a major change in attitudes and methods of supervision by managers. The new philosophy requires that officers perform their responsibilities on the basis of shared values and personal commitment to professionalism, rather than by constant supervision and limitations on their authority.

As more discretion and decisionmaking authority are shifted to individual officers, many police executives recognize that the rigid, hierarchical model of organization is obsolete. New structural arrangements, emphasizing streamlined administration and fewer layers of management, are being employed. This has facilitated rapid decisionmaking, more relevant policy guidance, and overall improvement in communication among all ranks.

Community policing has a variety of organizational styles in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. They range from home-beat officers in outlying areas of London, to basic car units in Los Angeles, to crime control teams composed of both patrol officers and detectives, to officers patrolling in pairs on fixed neighborhood beats, as well as numerous other structural combinations. An important ingredient of all organizational patterns, however, is the decentralization of authority to the lowest operational level—to the officers in direct contact with citizens and the community. No longer is the individual police officer merely a report taker who must pass along information about a problem to superiors, who then make the decisions and take the actions for solving the problem. Instead, the patrol officer becomes a decisionmaker, solving the problem if possible or at least participating in decisions about the ultimate response.

In England, for example, the chief superintendent commanding a division in London (an organizational element roughly equivalent to a precinct in a U.S. police department) divided the area of his command into four quarters. He then placed an inspector (the equivalent of a U.S. police lieutenant) in charge of each quadrant. He gave that middle management officer full authority to act as a minichief in implementing community

policing. Specifically, the local inspector was given great flexibility in deploying the sergeants and constables assigned to that area in order to meet the particular needs of the community.[22]

The purpose of changes in the management structure is to create a supportive organizational environment for community policing and to revise the relationship between police leaders and rank-and-file officers. One caveat should be mentioned: new organizational changes imposed by police executives often look good on paper, but the test must be whether they do in fact improve communication and expedite action. For this reason, it is important that feedback be obtained from line officers at each stage of implementation, to determine whether the new structure is providing the intended benefits. Tables of organization and channels of communication should be regarded as provisional, not immutable, until they have been proved in practice. Even then, changes in conditions may require further changes in organizational arrangements.

Whatever the organizational model, it must facilitate maximum participation by the line officer who is in direct contact with citizens of the community. As Herman Goldstein has written, by "making it legitimate for rank-and-file officers to think and be creative in their daily work . . . the potential benefits are of two kinds. The most important is the improvement that this could produce in the quality of the responses that the police make to oft-recurring community problems. In addition, such a change would be directly responsive to some critical needs in the police organization—the need to treat rank-and-file police officers as mature men and women; to demonstrate more trust and confidence in them; to give them more responsibility and a stake in the outcome of their efforts; and to give them a greater sense of fulfillment and job satisfaction."[23]

## Selecting and developing the new professionals

Changes in titles and organization can provide the conditions for improved professionalism, but only human beings can fulfill the potential of the new strategies for police work. Community policing is said to rest "on the belief that no technology can surpass what creative human beings can achieve together." Police departments must deploy the most innovative, self-disciplined, and self-motivated officers directly into the community as outreach specialists and community problem solvers.[24] Furthermore, commanders and supervisors will be supportive of the new philosophy and the accompanying modifications of managerial style only if, in the long run, the people under their supervision justify the increased freedom and greater discretion that are inherent in successful community policing. It must be remembered that the individuals who work most directly with the public and who are perceived as the primary representatives of the police department are patrol officers who occupy the lower ranks in the police agency and who will probably serve out their careers in those positions.[25]

Considerable attention must be given, therefore, to the type of individual who is encouraged to join a police department that emphasizes community policing. Qualities that traditionally have been associated with the higher ranks, such as leadership, communication skills, and the ability to persuade and motivate others, must now be required of all officers. Recruiters must look for self-starters who possess initiative and imagination, rather than "plodders" who will unquestioningly follow directions and will be comfortable merely by complying with explicit regulations. Indeed, as one of America's foremost law enforcement leaders has stated, "the officer in a modern department today must possess many skills, including those of information processor, community organizer, crime analyst, counsellor, street corner politician, arresting officer, school liaison, and community leader."[26]

## Is college necessary?

An immediate question arises about the selection of the "new" police officer: should a college education be required? This has been a subject of great debate over the years, with advocates on both sides of the question. An argument for college-educated officers is that the department would be composed of people from the general population "who have certain qualities (motivation, self-discipline, general intelligence) that are probably quite useful in a police career and, second, it inculcates certain characteristics (civility, urbanity, self-control) that might be especially desired in an officer."[27]

On the other hand, it also has been argued that college-educated people may not understand the problems and attitudes of lower- and working-class persons with whom police officers must deal; that a police career often is unattractive for the college graduate because it is "routine, sometimes dull, frequently unpleasant, and occasionally dangerous"; and that advanced education may produce a higher level of cynicism than would be present among those with less schooling.[28]

Another concern is that the requirement of a college degree might decrease the number of minority citizens available for recruitment into police work. This is a matter of great concern to many city governments that are seeking to have the police department reflect the demographic composition of the citizenry.

Most recent studies and commentators, however, have concluded that a college education is necessary, or at least desirable, in contemporary policing. One factor has been a change in society itself. As more of the general public has attended higher education institutions, and as the educational level of the community at large has increased, it is necessary that the educational level of the police also be raised.[29] In addition, a college-educated police force makes a difference in the agency itself. As Patrick Murphy has stated, "In general, a police department that has had a four-year college degree as an entry requirement for ten years or more can be quite a different organization from one requiring only a high school diploma. More responsibility can be placed on the officers, and a more collegial style of management can be utilized. The college-educated force sets higher professional standards and goals, which in turn, command public respect and help shape public opinion. Finally, a college-educated police force has the potential to proactively, rather than just reactively, address the crime and drug problems that plague society today."[30]

It is notable that the educational level of police officers has risen considerably during the past 20 years. In 1967, the average educational level for police was 12.4 years, just beyond a high school diploma. The most recent survey indicated that the current average educational level among law enforcement officers was 13.6 years, more than halfway through the second year of college. The study found that 65.2 percent of officers in the responding agencies had one or more years of college, 22.6 percent had earned at least a baccalaureate degree, and 3.7 percent had a graduate degree.[31]

There are various approaches to achieving a college-educated police department, several of which address the matter of attracting minority applicants. Many police executives do not believe that lack of a college degree should absolutely disqualify an individual from entering a department, if the person is willing to seek higher education during his or her career. Many departments help the individual attend college, some by arranging work schedules to permit class attendance, others by providing financial support. One department, for instance, pays half the college tuition of any officer working toward a bachelor's degree. Another pays all the costs of books and tuition for its officers. Some departments require 1 or 2 years of college as an entry requirement, while many provide premium pay for those who have attained a bachelor's or master's degree.[32]

Another approach that has been suggested is to use Federal funds already available:

> The U.S. Department of Education now distributes a large amount of public funds in grants and loans for higher education, most of which require no obligation of public service. A portion of these grants and loans should be allocated to young men and women willing to enter the police service, or to those already serving in police departments, who seek higher education. Loan funds could be disbursed with the understanding that repayment would be forgiven if the individual serves two years in the police service for each year of college education. Grants and loans should also be available for veteran officers to pursue advanced degrees, with a requirement of three additional years of service for each year of graduate education.[33]

A variation of this idea is the creation of a Police Corps, which already has been proposed through legislation introduced in Congress. Like the military Reserve Officer Training Corps, the Police Corps would provide educational funding for college students, provided they serve a period of several years in a police agency after graduation. Also, these types of programs that provide higher education benefits for both preservice and inservice police officers could increase the opportunities for minority citizens to attend college and thus expand the pool of qualified applicants for police service.

While the specific selection criteria, types of individuals recruited, and educational background required may vary from department to department, it is clear that "if the new mode of policing is to realize its full potential in crime control and community service, police departments must attract highly educated persons with broad life experience and an expanded perspective on their position of public service."[34]

## Expanded training programs

If the concept of community policing is to be the guiding strategy for a police department, it must be reflected not only in recruiting, but throughout the training programs as well. This includes both the basic training for new recruits, who presumably have been selected for their potential capabilities to carry out community policing, as well as veterans of the department who essentially have to be retrained in the new philosophy and practices. The revisions that must be made in the curriculum of traditional police academies reflect the range of changes that must be made in the department as a whole. It usually will involve expanding the entire program, lengthening the number of weeks of recruit training, and adding additional periods of inservice training for veteran officers.

Most important is the approach or "tone" inherent in the revised training. Community policing cannot be imposed from "on high," but must become a part of the culture of the department, and thus be reflected in significant attitude changes. As one law enforcement agency phrased it, such attitude changes cannot be mandated through policy, but must come about "through a long series of environmental changes that foster behavior modification which consequently alters attitudes."[35] Officers must understand that community policing helps them to be more effective, that it gives them a greater participation in fashioning their own work environment, and that they, as well as the community, will benefit from the new policing strategy.

The content of training programs must provide recruits with an ample understanding of police tasks. It should provide information on the history of law enforcement, the role of police in modern society, and the need for discretion in law enforcement. Rather than preparing officers to perform police work mechanically, it should help them to understand their communities, the police role, and even the imperfections of the criminal justice system.[36] In addition, the following specific skills—which have not necessarily been a part of traditional police training curriculums—must be taught:

(1) Communications skills: the ability to talk effectively with all types of citizens, from community leaders to ordinary residents, as well as the ability to listen and learn effectively.

(2) Public speaking: the ability to articulate ideas and motivate others, as well as the art of leading meetings in ways to draw out the thoughts and ideas of the participants.

(3) Problem-solving techniques: how to identify and analyze problems, as well as how to develop effective responses and solutions.

(4) Conflict resolution and negotiating: how to help citizens resolve disputes within the community, rather than resorting to violence or "self-help," or engaging formal legal mechanisms.

In addition, two bases of knowledge about the community should be taught:

(1) Social, economic, and demographic conditions of the community.

(2) Supporting agencies in the community: the existence of city departments, social agencies, and other resources that can be used for referral of citizens and support for officers in their work.

Two other specialized skills should be included in the training curriculum. One is the ability to type, since more and more police work will involve the use of computer keyboards, whether on mobile digital terminals in police cars or laptop computers. Being able to type quickly and accurately will save a great deal of time during an officer's career. The other specialized skill, which would be adapted to particular community conditions, is language capability. The ability of an officer to converse, or at least understand, the languages spoken in his or her patrol area is not only a valuable attribute but may be necessary for the officer's safety.

Field training, under the specific leadership of qualified field training officers (FTO's), has become a regular part of most recruit training programs. A variation of the traditional training sequence, in which recruits complete the academy phase and then go on the street for training under FTO's, might better relate the two types of training, however. For example, the initial training of the recruits should be in the academy, where they would learn the history and role of policing, as well as specific skills and techniques, such as use of firearms, laws of arrest, police procedures, defensive combat, and others. Then officers might go on the street for field training for several weeks, where they would observe conditions in the community. They could then return to the academy for more advanced training in communication skills, community conditions, techniques of community policing, and other subjects related to their work as members of a community policing team. The street experience between the phases of academy training will make them more knowledgeable about the community they will serve and thus more receptive to learning the police role in dealing with neighborhood problems.

Training in the concepts of community policing is as important for those already in police service as it is for recruits. The way in which new ideas are presented is critical, since the revised strategies that are relevant to problem solving and community orientation will require many officers to change the manner in which they perform their duties. Again, the emphasis on benefit to the officer and increased participation in decisionmaking should be stressed. The formal training in community policing, particularly in the subjects described above, should be continually reinforced by informal discussions at all levels of command. Two-way communication and the opportunity for effective dialog is a vital part of a truly professional organization.

## Quality supervision

The most careful recruiting and selection, accompanied by an enlightened and motivating training program, nevertheless can be nullified by poor supervision on the street. If the new officers find that the values they were taught in the police academy are not respected by their superiors under actual working conditions, or that their own participation is reduced to mindlessly obeying orders and regulations, the idealism and initiative fostered during the training period will be neutralized, if not destroyed. The climate of the officer's working environment is established to a great extent by the immediate supervisor. As Goldstein has stated, "However strongly the head of an agency may elicit a different style of policing, the quality of an officer's daily life is heavily dependent on how well the officer satisfies the expectations and demands of his or her immediate supervisor."[37]

Changing the supervisory style to reflect the values and techniques of community policing is therefore of critical importance. Supervisors must demonstrate that the objectives and expectations developed in the police academy are carried out in practice. The emphasis on relating to the community, on problem solving, and on the use of creativity and imagination must be fostered by the daily contact that an officer has with the supervisor. Leaders on the street must learn to develop the talents and capabilities of each of their subordinates to the maximum, and must provide guidance rather than simply issuing orders. Since the individual officer has more discretion and is being urged to utilize his or her own skills and judgment to a greater extent, the supervisor's function as a coach and role model becomes even more significant. The new requirement includes being a facilitator, to increase the effectiveness of those who serve under his or her leadership.

Teamwork, flexibility, mutual participation in decisionmaking, and citizen satisfaction are concepts that initially may threaten the supervisor who is more comfortable with the authoritarian role and routinized operations inherent in traditional policing. Thus, the education of supervisors in new styles of leadership and management must be given a high priority if they are to carry out their responsibility for the success of community policing.

This establishment of a new philosophy must go beyond management training. Commanders and supervisors must not only be knowledgeable, but must be committed to the new form of leadership. The values that underlie the culture of the department must be modified and reflected in appropriate statements of policy by the departmental command group. Furthermore, rules and regulations must be streamlined and, generally, reduced in number, so that the flexibility needed by both supervisors and line officers will be possible. Just as the new policing style requires more communication and guidance between supervisor and officer, it also requires continuous dialog and sharing of information between the police chief and command officers and those involved in direct supervision. It is unlikely that improved communication will occur between police officers and citizens if effective communication within the police department has not been established first.

## Maximized participation in decisionmaking

Since the 1970's, police executives have been following the example of private sector business and industrial firms in devel-

oping new mechanisms for participatory management. The Newport News, Virginia, Police Department utilized a variety of task forces and committees to implement its problem-oriented policing project. A management committee, comprising bureau heads and unit commanders, participated in all major patrol decisions. An operations advisory committee, composed of patrol officers and detectives, met regularly with the chief to discuss their concerns. These groups dealt with a variety of issues, from policy development and flexible deployment of officers on patrol beats, to shift scheduling and equipment purchases.[38]

In the London Metropolitan Police, the division chief superintendent held a meeting of all his officers, from constables up through command officers, every 5 weeks to identify and analyze problems in his area and to obtain suggestions from line officers as to their solution. This opportunity to participate in important decisions on police activities not only gave officers of all grades the opportunity to demonstrate their creativity, but by being part of the process they also were more committed to the results. A further extension of this method that was being contemplated was to include citizens of the community in such meetings to broaden the input into police decisionmaking.[39]

The Sheriff's Department of Los Angeles County, California, instituted a new effort called "service-oriented policing." To move the department and its personnel toward a more service-oriented posture, the sheriff established an SOP committee composed of representatives from all elements of the department: command officers, middle managers, supervisors, line deputies, and civilian employees. The committee's task included examination of the department's organization and culture; the expectations, rights, and needs of the service recipients (citizens) and the service deliverers (departmental personnel); and the services that were being provided, as well as how they might be enhanced or expanded. The SOP committee also sought the ideas and responses of the more than 11,000 members of the department.[40]

## Supporting officers in the community

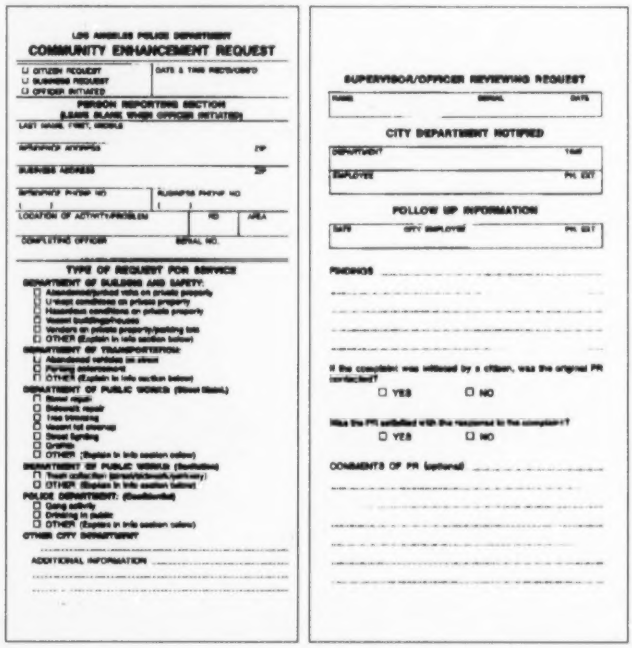
Community policing officers are expected to be on the street during most of their time on duty, communicating with citizens, patrolling neighborhoods and business districts, attending meetings of residents, and conducting other police activities. It is important, therefore, that they have technical and logistic backup in the form of field support units (FSU's). Organizationally placed at precinct or headquarters level, according to the size of the city, the FSU's are a valuable staff counterpart to the officers in the field. They should include crime prevention specialists, who can provide presentations at meetings and technical assistance on specific crime control problems. The FSU can provide publications and materials for neighborhood meetings, as well as specialized equipment such as videocassette recorders, viewgraphs, etc. In addition, it can handle the printing and duplicating of notices and other documents that are needed by community officers for distribution to citizens. The FSU also can serve as a message center for officers in the field, facilitating rapid callback responses to citizens. The leader of the FSU (a sergeant or lieutenant) also can be available to provide advice and technical assistance to the community policing team leaders and officers, incorporating the experiences and lessons learned of other policing teams

An important responsibility of the field support unit is to provide liaison and followup activity with other elements of the police department as well as the various city departments whose services are needed to resolve community problems. The Los Angeles Police Department has developed a "community enhancement request" form that enables an officer to request specific services from city agencies to handle conditions that may result in crime or community decay (see exhibit 1). When such a request is turned in by a local officer, the FSU forwards it to the appropriate city department or other unit of the police department, then maintains a suspense file on the item until a response has been received and the problem alleviated. If no response occurs within a reasonable time, the FSU itself can stimulate the necessary action. It also can furnish continuing feedback to the officer on the street.

The FSU function is critical to the community policing officer. He or she is on the line with the citizens, responding to their needs and requests. The ability to make something happen when citizens complain directly affects the officer's credibility and ultimate success, as well as that of the police department. The responsiveness of city government, or lack thereof, can result in either personal frustration or a sense of accomplishment for the individual officer. The line officer's effectiveness, therefore, is

**Exhibit 1.**

**Los Angeles Police Department**
**"Community Enhancement Request" form**



LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT
COMMUNITY ENHANCEMENT REQUEST

☐ CITIZEN REQUEST
☐ SUPERVISOR REQUEST
☐ OFFICER INITIATED

DATE & TIME RECEIVED

PERSON REPORTING SECTION
(LEAVE BLANK WHEN OFFICER INITIATED)

LAST NAME, FIRST, MIDDLE

BUSINESS ADDRESS

LOCATION OF ACTIVITY/PROBLEM

COMPLETING OFFICER

TYPE OF REQUEST FOR SERVICE

DEPARTMENT OF BUILDING AND SAFETY:
☐ Abandoned/junked vehicle on private property
☐ Unsafe conditions on private property
☐ Hazardous conditions on private property
☐ Vacant buildings/houses
☐ Vendors on private property/parking lots
☐ OTHER (Explain in Info section below)

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION:
☐ Abandoned vehicles on street
☐ Parking enforcement
☐ OTHER (Explain in Info section below)

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS (Street Maint.)
☐ Sewer repair
☐ Sidewalk repair
☐ Tree trimming
☐ Vacant lot cleanup
☐ Street lighting
☐ Graffiti
☐ OTHER (Explain in Info section below)

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS (Sanitation)
☐ Trash collection (street/sidewalk/alley)
☐ OTHER (Explain in Info section below)

POLICE DEPARTMENT: (Southwest)
☐ Gang activity
☐ Drinking in public
☐ OTHER (Explain in Info section below)

OTHER CITY DEPARTMENT

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

SUPERVISOR/OFFICER REVIEWING REQUEST

NAME | SERIAL | DATE

CITY DEPARTMENT NOTIFIED

DEPARTMENT | TIME

EMPLOYEE | PH. EXT.

FOLLOW UP INFORMATION

DATE | CITY EMPLOYEE | PH. EXT.

FINDINGS

If the complaint was initiated by a citizen, was the original PR contacted?
☐ YES ☐ NO

Was the PR satisfied with the response to the complaint?
☐ YES ☐ NO

COMMENTS OF PR (optional)



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directly proportional to the followup work of the FSU. To perform several of these field support functions, the Los Angeles Police Department has established a community relations officer/crime prevention unit, under a sergeant, in each area's headquarters.[41]

Another type of specialized support needed by the community policing officer involves crime analysis and information about ongoing criminal activities in his or her territory. To fill this need, the London Metropolitan Police have established a Division Intelligence and Information Unit (DIIU) in each precinct-level command. Composed of detectives and support personnel, the DIIU collects, analyzes, and disseminates to local police officers information about criminals and crimes located within their area. This information can be used not only to apprehend specific offenders, but also to develop crime prevention strategies.

Information support for the officer in the community must go beyond crime analyses. The full resources of the police agency's records and identification facilities must be available quickly and conveniently. Computer equipment in the field, such as mobile digital terminals in patrol cars and laptop units equipped with telephone connections, can save valuable time in preparing reports and can provide immediate access to essential data. In addition, officers should receive timely information on municipal government actions (such as ordinance or regulation changes affecting neighborhood residents and businesses), as well as facts about public and private health, welfare, and education resources that might be used for referral or assistance.

## Relationships within the police department

An important part of the community policing officer's success and personal satisfaction is the relationship that he or she has with the rest of the police department. Particularly important is the working relationship between patrol officers and detectives. The functions of report taking, information collecting, crime investigation, and apprehending criminals become more integrated under community policing, and the distinction between patrol and detective operations should diminish considerably. In some agencies, detectives are part of the neighborhood crime control teams.

The officer in the community is able to obtain valuable information, both from citizen input and his or her own observations, about crime conditions, particular offenses, and criminal suspects. The officer can use neighborhood-based information for followup investigations within the local community, including the arrest of perpetrators found there. Information also can be passed on to detectives investigating crimes over a broader geographical area. When an officer's information has assisted in the identification and apprehension of a suspect and in a conviction, feedback should be given to the patrol officer to validate the value of those efforts and to motivate the officer to continue to provide such information. Similarly, by continual communication with street officers, detectives can alert them to crimes committed, information needed, and suspects to be sought.

Through this exchange of information, the solution to many crimes and the arrest of criminals increasingly can be accomplished by officers working in neighborhoods. Centralized detective activities then can focus more on problem solving—identifying the nature of criminal activity in the community and designing crime reduction strategies that will affect different types of crimes.

The police officer working in a particular neighborhood should be supported by other specialized elements of the police department. As conditions require, special investigative units such as narcotics, juvenile, and gang units should be available for specific crime problems. The officer should be able to call upon staff units such as criminal intelligence, crime laboratory, and records and identification for their expertise. The planning and research staff should assist the community policing effort as a whole, through citywide operational research and evaluation programs to improve the effectiveness of the agency in handling the problems of the community, as well as through assistance to individual field officers in solving specific problems in the neighborhoods they patrol.

Assistant Chief Robert Vernon, Director of Operations for the Los Angeles Police Department, has described this relationship between specialized units of a police agency and the field officers responsible for community policing in terms of a medical model: the patrol officer in a specific neighborhood or beat area is like a general practitioner physician who has the principal interface with the individual citizen. Surrounding and supporting the police general practitioner is a series of specialists—detectives, juvenile investigators, narcotics officers, headquarters staff units, and others—who are available for consultation or referral of the case.[42]

## Quality assurance

Under the traditional style of policing, with a quasi-military environment and rigid sets of rules and regulations, inspection and control are relatively easy functions to perform. Regular inspections and audits are conducted to determine whether officers are complying with regulations. The more mechanically the individual adheres to the letter of the rules, the less likely he or she will get into trouble. Displaying unusual creativity, going beyond minimal requirements of the job, or exercising individual judgment are at odds with the rule-compliance mode. It is easy to see, then, that community policing—with its emphasis on self-motivation and individual initiative—requires a new approach to the inspection function.

Nevertheless, the importance of that function—maintaining the quality and integrity of the police force—is in no way minimized by the new concepts of policing. Indeed, the greater freedom of action afforded the individual officer places greater reliance on effective systems for monitoring, evaluating, and, when necessary, disciplining police conduct. If the community is to sustain satisfaction with and confidence in the police department, executives must insure that internal wrongdoing is prevented and that sufficient safeguards are established to preserve the integrity, efficiency, and effectiveness of the force.

The philosophy of community policing, in recognizing the professionalism of the police officer and emphasizing greater opportunities for job satisfaction, is ideal for making a commitment to essential values the basis for maintaining necessary standards of conduct. The concept of values in policing is discussed in an issue of *Perspectives on Policing*.[43] Such value orientation is an essential component of achieving professional responsibility within the force.

Beyond the delineation and promotion of values, mechanisms for quality control—monitoring of performance and investigation of complaints—must be part of overall management controls. In a professional organization, the model should be the "quality assurance" programs of modern business and industrial institutions, where the emphasis is less on rigid compliance with rules than on successful results. Techniques such as self-evaluation by individuals and patrol teams, citizen surveys, and performance audits should be used to stimulate analysis and improvement, rather than as negative instruments of penalization.

At the same time, investigation and resolution of complaints or indications of misconduct should be prompt, thorough, and decisive. A professional police organization cannot tolerate betrayal of its values or breaches of integrity. When such incidents occur, the factual situation should be analyzed carefully so that candid information about the matter can be incorporated into future training sessions to prevent other officers from becoming enmeshed in wrongdoing.

## Conclusion

Community policing is now an established concept of modern law enforcement doctrine. While much experimentation and innovation continues to occur, the benefits of this strategy are being proclaimed by more and more cities throughout the Nation. But "making the transition from a traditional reactive, incident-driven style of policing to a more contemporary proactive, problem-directed style of community-oriented policing requires a comprehensive strategy that is based on long-term institutional change."[44]

The practice of community policing, and the implementation planning that inaugurates it, must recognize the pivotal role of the individual officer. As an article in *Footprints: The Community Policing Newsletter* states, "we must always remember that it is the Community Policing Officers themselves who make the system work . . . All the theories, strategies, and tactics associated with Community Policing that the experts discuss ultimately boil down to a single officer on the street, intervening one-on-one in efforts to . . . make the community safer."[45]

By lifting some of the constraints under which police officers in the field now operate, and by giving them the freedom to make decisions, innovate, and be problem solvers, community policing promises great benefits for the community in terms of quality of life and for the officers in terms of job satisfaction. By focusing on the person in the front lines of police service—the individual patrol officer—the community policing strategy will be built on a solid foundation.

## Notes

1. Alvin and Heidi Toffler, "The Future of Law Enforcement: Dangerous and Different," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, January 1990: 2–5.

2. George L. Kelling, "Police and Communities: The Quiet Revolution," *Perspectives on Policing* 1, Washington, D.C., National Institute of Justice and Harvard University, June 1988: 1.

3. Mark H. Moore and Robert C. Trojanowicz, "Corporate Strategies for Policing," *Perspectives on Policing* 6, Washington, D.C., National Institute of Justice and Harvard University, November 1988: 2.

4. See *Perspectives on Policing* Nos. 1–11, Washington, D.C., National Institute of Justice and Harvard University, June 1988–September 1989; *Footprints: The Community Policing Newsletter*, National Center for Community Policing, Michigan State University.

5. Moore and Trojanowicz, "Corporate Strategies," n. 3 above: 9.

6 James S. Campbell et al., *Law and Order Reconsidered*, Report of the Task Force on Law and Law Enforcement to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, New York, Bantam Books, 1970: 286.

7. See Jesse Rubin, "Police Identity and the Police Role," in *The Police and the Community*, ed. Robert F. Steadman, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972: 26.

8. Bernard L. Garmire, "The Police Role in an Urban Society," in *The Police and the Community*, n. 7 above: 6.

9. See James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, "Police and Neighborhood Safety: Broken Windows," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1982: 29–38.

10. Tony Pate et al., *Three Approaches to Criminal Apprehension in Kansas City: An Evaluation Report*, Washington, D.C., Police Foundation, 1976.

11. William Medina, "Neighborhood Based Policing," unpublished paper, Los Angeles Police Department, 1987.

12. James Q. Wilson, *Varieties of Police Behavior: The Management of Law and Order in Eight Communities*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968: 29–30.

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13. Rubin, "Police Identity," n. 7 above: 22.

14. Note that while in the early days of an organized police in England, ranks such as inspector and superintendent were substituted for the military titles of lieutenant, captain, etc., the same basic hierarchical structure of command was retained, with the position of sergeant as the first level of supervision.

15. William L. Tafoya, "The Future of Policing," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, January 1990: 15.

16. In the Army, a helicopter pilot usually is appointed as a warrant officer, a professional rank just below second lieutenant, but pay and career status rise in parallel to officer ranks.

17. *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967: 107–109.

18. See Dorothy Guyot, "Bending Granite: Attempts to Change the Rank Structure of American Police Departments," *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, September 1979: 253–284.

19. The rank of inspector has had several different usages in the United States. In many police departments, particularly in the West, it was the title assigned to detectives, placing them between sergeants and lieutenants in the hierarchy. In other departments it was an executive rank above captain. Because of this confusion, the term has fallen into disuse in many parts of the country, but still is common as a command rank in the Northeast.

20. "Promotional/Advanced Paygrades," Memorandum provided to the author by the Los Angeles Police Department, March 1990.

21. Herman Goldstein, *Problem-Oriented Policing*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1990: 27.

22. Author's interview of Commander D. Monk, Metropolitan Police of London, February 1990.

23. *Problem-Oriented Policing*, n. 21 above: 28.

24. Robert C. Trojanowicz and David L. Carter, "The Changing Face of America," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, January 1990: 9.

25. *Problem-Oriented Policing*, n. 21 above: 27.

26. Patrick Murphy, foreword to *The State of Police Education: Policy Direction for the 21st Century* by David L. Carter, Allen D. Sapp, and Darrel W. Stephens, Washington, D.C., Police Executive Research Forum, 1989: iii.

27. James Q. Wilson, "The Police in the Ghetto," in *The Police and the Community*, n. 7 above: 73.

28. Wilson, previous note: 73–74.

29. Carter et al., *The State of Police Education*, n. 26 above: 157.

30. Murphy, foreword to Carter et al., n. 26 above: iv.

31. *The State of Police Education*, n. 26 above: 38.

32. Andrew H. Malcolm, "Police Chiefs' Objective: Greater Responsiveness," *New York Times*, April 23, 1990.

33. Edwin Meese III, "Criminal Justice—A Public Policy Imperative," in *Thinking About America: The United States in the 1990s*, ed. Annelise Anderson and Dennis L. Bark, Palo Alto, California, Hoover Institution, 1988: 434.

34. Meese, previous note.

35. Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, *Star News*, March 1990: 6.

36. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967: 138.

37. *Problem-Oriented Policing*, n. 21 above: 157.

38. See John E. Eck and William Spelman, *Problem-Solving: Problem-Oriented Policing in Newport News*, Washington, D.C., Police Executive Research Forum, 1987.

39. Author's interview of Commander Monk, n. 22 above.

40. Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, n. 35 above.

41. Los Angeles Police Department, unpublished briefing paper on community policing provided to author, March 14, 1990.

42. Author's interview of Assistant Chief Robert L. Vernon, Los Angeles Police Department, March 14, 1990.

43. Robert Wasserman and Mark H. Moore, "Values in Policing," *Perspectives on Policing* 8, Washington, D.C., National Institute of Justice and Harvard University, November 1988.

44. National Law Enforcement Leadership Institute Bulletin on "Community-Oriented Policing Implementation Strategy Session," August 1990.

45. "Community Policing: The Line Officer's Perspective," *Footprints: The Community Policing Newsletter* 3, 2(Summer 1990): 5.

The Executive Session on Policing, like other Executive Sessions at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, is designed to encourage a new form of dialog between high-level practitioners and scholars, with a view to redefining and proposing solutions for substantive policy issues. Practitioners rather than academicians are given majority representation in the group. The meetings of the Session are conducted as loosely structured seminars or policy debates.

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**NCJ 139164**

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